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which is found in a few words on Dr. Burnes' Khedâ plates of Dadda II, and throughout in the Valabhî grant of Śîlâditya V, dated 441.¹ The execution of the engraver's work is good and the preservation of the plates likewise. A few letters have been slightly damaged by verdigris. The language is Sanskrit, and, as regards the spelling, throughout very incorrect. In grammar and style a difference is observable between the preamble and the portion referring to the donation (Pl. I, l. 15—Pl. II, l. 17). The former evidently has been composed by a Pandit, and is free from gross mistakes, while several bad ones occur in the latter, which in many respects closely resembles the corresponding part of the Umetâ Śâsana of Dadda II. As has been already mentioned, the grant is dated Valabhî, full moon day of *Vaiśākha Śaka-saṃvat* 400 (478 A.D.). The donor is stated to be Dharasenadêva, son of Guhasena and grandson of Bhaṭṭârka (i.e. *Bhaṭârka*). The donee is Bhaṭṭa Gominda (i.e. Govinda) son of Bhaṭṭa Îsara (i.e. Îśvara), a Chaturvedî of Daśapura, who belonged to the Kauśika gotra and to the Chhandoga śâkhâ of the Śâma-veda. The object granted is the village of Nandîar or Nandîsar,² situated in the vishaya or zillâ Kantâragrâmaśoḍaśata, i.e. the

¹ *Indian Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 16.

² The letter is very indistinct.

Sixteen-hundred of K a n t â r a g r â m a. The boundaries of the village are stated to be to the east the village of G i r i v i l i, to the south the river M a d â v i, to the west the Ocean, and to the north the village of D e y a t h a l i. Repeated references to the Revenue Survey maps of Gujarât and enquiries in Surat and Bharûch regarding the whereabouts of the village of N a n d î a r or N a n d î s a r have not led to any very satisfactory results. This much only seems certain from the mention of the Ocean as its western boundary that it lay on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Cambay. As K a n t â r a g r â m a, after which the *vishaya* or zillâ is named, was the ancient, and is still the modern Sanskrit appellation of the large village of K a t t a r g â m, north-east of Surat, it seems probable that N a n d î a r must be looked for either in the Olpâḍ or the Chorâsî Tâlukâs.

The use of the Gurjara characters and of the Śaka era in a grant, stated to have been issued by a Valabhî king, the close agreement of its second and chief portion with the Gurjara Śâsana of Umetâ, and the obvious error in the genealogy of the Valabhî kings induced both Mr. Bhâû Dâjî and myself to declare these plates to be a forgery. Though, as stated formerly, my condemnation of them was pronounced after a cursory inspection, I do not find that a more careful examination obliges me to alter my opinion regarding them.

But some facts which have been discovered since I wrote my articles on the Kâvî and the Umetâ Śâsanas, as well as some points which the closer examination of the grant has revealed, make the proof of its being a forgery more difficult, and force me to alter the course of reasoning which I formerly adopted.

The argument drawn from the employment of the Gurjara characters and of the Śaka era is considerably weakened by the discovery that Gujarât east of the Gulf of Cambay during a considerable period formed part of the dominions of the Râjâs of Valabhî. For a long time I distrusted the arguments used to prove the supremacy of the Valabhîans over continental Gujarât, because the geographical names such as Khetaka, Godrahaka, &c. whose occurrence on the plates of the Śîlâdityas was supposed to furnish the requisite proof, occur not unfrequently in various parts of Western India. But I am now compelled to admit the correctness of the view which I have formerly combated. For the facsimile of the grant of Dharaśena IV, dated Saṃvat 330, distinctly shows that that document was issued at Bharukachchha or Bharûch.³ It is not

³ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 73. I prepared my transcript of the grant from the plate itself, not from the facsimile, and was unable to make out more of the name of the king's camp than Bhara. The facsimile has clearly *viṣayaskandhâvârâd bharukachchhavâsakât*. 'From the victorious camp, located at Bharukachchha!' The stroke marking the *u* has, however, been attached to the left of the *ra* instead of to the right.

possible to assume that two towns of this name existed in Gujarât. On the contrary it must be admitted that D h a r a s e n a IV, when issuing his *śâsana* of Samvat 330, had pitched his camp on the banks of the N a r m a d â, and for the time, at least, had conquered Central Gujarât. But if Dharasena IV held Bharûch, it becomes exceedingly probable that the town of K h e ṭ a k a, which is mentioned in his grant and in those of the later Valabhîan kings, K h a r a g r a h a II, Śîlâditya III, Śîlâditya IV, and Śîlâditya VI, both as the pitching-place of the royal camps and as the head-quarters of an *Âhâra* or Zillâ,⁴ is the ancient capital of the Khedâ Collectorate on the confluence of the Vâtrak and Sherî rivers. Further, it now seems advisable to identify G o d r a h a k a,⁵ where Śîlâditya V issued his *śâsana* of Samvat 441, with the modern G o d h r â, the capital of the Panch Mahâls. Finally, it is hardly possible to take the K h e ṭ a k a, which is mentioned in the grant of D h a r a s e n a II, dated Samvat 270,⁶ to be different from the modern Khedâ, especially as the name of the village granted, A śî l a - p a l l i k â, agrees very closely with that of the modern A ś l â l î near Ahmadabad. In short, I can no longer deny that the kings of Valabhî ruled from the time of Dharasena II over

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, p. 45; vol. VII, pp. 73, 81; *Journ. Bo. Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. XI, p. 335.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 17. ⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 71.

continental Gujarât as far as the Mahî, and that later they extended their sway much further south, certainly as far as the Narmadâ. But if that be so, an advocate of the genuineness of our plates might argue that there was no particular objection to assuming Dharasena II, too, having held Southern Gujarât, and having used in this grant the Gurjara characters and Śaka era in conformity with the usage of the country. For though each Indian dynasty usually adopts one kind of alphabet only, and a change in the characters usually occurs with a change of the dynasty only, still there are some clear cases where princes, in obedience to local usage, either used different alphabets for different parts of their dominions, or changed the alphabet on acquiring or settling in a new province. Well known instances of the former kind are furnished by the inscriptions of Aśoka and of the Indo-Scythian kings who used the so-called Ariano-Pâli alphabet for their northern inscriptions and the Indo-Pâli for those in Central India. A case of the latter kind we meet in the grants of the Râshtrakûṭas, who, on conquering Gujarât about 800 A.D., gave up the Devanâgarî alphabet of their Dekhan inscriptions, and substituted for it Gujarâtî characters. Nor can it be denied that the kings of Valabhî sometimes used characters differing from those on their plates. The Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bombay contains a mu-

tilated stone-slab, found at Valabhî, which shows the curious pointed characters of Durgagana's Jhâlrâpâthan inscription.⁷ It must be admitted that these facts, taken together, would make the use of Gurjara characters on plates issued by a king of Valabhî in Gujarât, perfectly explicable, and that they certainly prevent its being used as an argument against the genuineness of our grant. The same remarks apply to the argument drawn from the use of the Śaka era. The latter was, as we know, from Dadda's and the Rathod inscriptions usually employed in Gujarât previous to the accession of the Solankî dynasty.

But in spite of the removal of these two grounds of suspicion, there remains enough to condemn our śâsana as a forgery. The first argument against it is furnished by a mistake in the genealogy of the Valabhî kings. The grant states (Pl. I, l. 4) that Guhasena was the son of Bhaṭârka. All the other grants of Dharasena II expressly assert that Guhasena was Bhaṭârka's *grandson* and the son of Dhara-paṭṭa. That this version is the correct one may be gathered from Guhasena's own inscriptions. The only complete one published⁸ enumerates, after Bhaṭârka, his three sons Dharasena I, Droṇasimha, and Dhruvasena I, but omits the name of Guhasena's father,

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 180.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 66.

Dharapaṭṭa, while, as far as I was able to make out, the first unpublished plate of his grant of Samvat 248⁹ contains D h a r a p a ṭ ṭ a's name. If our grant were genuine, the mistake would be perfectly inexplicable. But if it is a forgery, the solution of the difficulty is easily found. For the grants issued by the successors of Dharasena II, from his son Śîlâditya I down to Śîlâditya VI, Dhruvabhata, omit the names of Bhaṭârka's four sons, and after mentioning the founder of the dynasty, at once turn to the description of Guhasena, premising the remark that the succession of kings between these two was unbroken and regular. A forger who had no access to a grant of Guhasena or of Dharasena II, but to one issued by a later king, might easily fall into the error which we find in our inscription, and interpret the phrase regarding the unbroken succession of kings between Bhaṭârka and Guhasena to mean that the latter was the son of the former.

A second mistake which these plates show, confirms this suspicion, and indicates that the forger derived his knowledge of the Valabhî dynasty from a grant of one of the later Śîlâdityas. Contrary to the usage of all other grants of Dharasena II, that king is in our grant twice called D h a r a s e n a d e v a (Pl. I, l. 15; Pl. II, l. 17). Now the title *deva*

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 206.

is not found attached to the names of Valabhî kings before the times of Śîlâditya II. It actually occurs on all the grants of Śîlâditya III, Śîlâditya IV, Śîlâditya V, and Śîlâditya VI, and the first ruler who receives it, is just Śîlâditya II.¹⁰ Now a forger who had seen and not very carefully studied a grant of one of these last four or five princes, where the grantor added *deva* to his name, would naturally transfer the epithet to the prince on whom he fathered his own production. On a genuine plate it could not be explained, because the Gurjara princes do not adopt it any more than the earlier Valabhîans.

A third ground of suspicion arises out of the cognizance and the inscription on the seal. The seals of the undoubted Valabhî grants show a bull *couchant*, placed in the peculiar attitude of the great stone Nandî at W a l â and facing the proper left, as well as the inscription *Śrî-Bhaṭârkaḥ*. In no case is the animal represented standing and facing the proper right as on the seal of our grant, and in no case do we find the name of the grantor instead of that of the founder of the dynasty. It would be useless to attempt an explanation of the differences in the device and the inscription through Gurjara influence. For the Gurjara plates show

¹⁰ I have not seen the grant of Śîlâditya II, dated 348, which is preserved in the Museum of the As. Soc. Bombay, and do not know if *dêva* is used there.

on their seals nothing but the inscription *Śrī-Sāmanta-Dadda*. The conclusion to be drawn from the peculiarities of the attitude of the Bull and of the inscription is that the grant is a forgery, and that the forger was acquainted with the cognizance of the Valabhîans, but was unable or neglected to give to the coppersmith a proper model.

A fourth argument against the genuineness of our plates is furnished by their relation to the grants of the Gurjara prince Dadda II. I have formerly asserted that the chief portion of this grant is an exact copy of Dadda's Umetâ plates of Śaka Samvat 400. A more careful examination and comparison of the two documents shows, however, that there are some important discrepancies, and that in some points the forged grant is independent, while in others it agrees with the Ilâo grant of Dadda, which is dated Śaka Samvat 417. In order to enable the reader to gain an insight into the relation of the three grants, I give their corresponding portions in parallel columns.

कुशली सर्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्रामकुटायुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-
दीन्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मया मातापितोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
न्ययशोभिवृद्धये कान्यकुब्जवास्तव्य-
तचातुर्विद्यसमान्यवशिष्टसगोलबबहुच-
व्रह्मचारिभट्टमहिधरस्तस्य सुनु भट्ट
मधव बलिचस्वैवश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहा-
यज्ञादिकृत्योत्सर्पणार्थं कर्मणीयशोडशतं
भुक्त्यन्तःपातिनिगुडग्रामोस्य घटस्थ-
नानि पूर्वस्यां दिशिबवधैरिग्रामः दक्षिण-
स्यां दिशि फलहवद्ग्रामः प्रतिच्यो दिशि
विहाणग्रामः उत्तरस्यां दिशि दहिथलि-
ग्रामः एवंमयं स्वचतुराष्टनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोदृङ्गसपरिकरसधान्यहिरन्या-
देयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकसमस्तराजकिया -

कुशली सर्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्रामकुटायुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-
दिन्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मया मातापितोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
ण्यायशोभिवृद्धायै दशपुरविनिर्गत-
तचातुर्विद्यसमान्यकौसिकस्यगोलबच्छं-
दोगासब्रह्मचारिभाट्टाइसरस्तस्य सुत-
भाट्टगोमिंदबलिचस्वैवश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्च
महायज्ञार्थं कंतारग्रामशोडशतं
विषयंतःपाति नंदीअरकग्रामो
तस्य च घटानानि पुर्वतः गिरि-
विलिग्रामः दक्षिणतः महाविनदि
पश्चिमतः समुद्रो उत्तरतः देयथलि
ग्रामः एवंमयं स्वचतुराष्टनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोदृंग सपरिकर सधान्यहिरन्या-
देयसोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिक समस्तराजकिय-

कुशली सर्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति-
ग्रामकुटायुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरा-
दीन्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा
मया मातापितोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपु-
ण्यायशोभिवृद्धये अन्विच्छत्ववास्तव्य-
तचातुर्विद्यसमान्य कश्यपशागोलबबहु-
चसब्रह्मचारिभट्टगोविन्दस्तस्य सुनु
नरयणय बलिचस्वैवश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्च-
महाजज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं अङ्कुले-
श्वरविषयन्तःपातिराछुवं ग्रामो
स्याघटस्थनानि पूर्वतः वारणेश्रामः
दक्षिणतः वरंदनहीः पश्चिमतः
शुंडवडकग्रामः उत्तरत अरुडुअं
ग्रामः एवंमयं स्वचतुराष्टनविशुद्धो
ग्रामः सोदृङ्गसपरिकरसधान्यहिरण्य -
देयसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकसमस्तराजकीय -

Umetá grant Pl. 1, l. 14.

नम प्रवेश्य अचन्द्राकर्णवक्षिति सरि-
 त्पर्वतसमकालिन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमो-
 पभोग्य पूर्वप्रत्तेवब्रह्मदायवड्जर्म-
 भ्यांतरसिध्य शकनृपकालातीतसंव-
 त्सरचतुष्टये वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां
 उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोऽस्यो-
 चितय ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्ष-
 यतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा
 न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य तथागामिभि-
 रापि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा सा-
 मान्यभूमिदानफलमेत्य विन्दूलो-
 लान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणग्रलग्रज-
 लविन्दुवज्जलञ्च जीवितमाकलय्य
 स्वदायानिर्विशेषो यमस्मदायोनु-
 मन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च तथा चोक्तं
 बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
 दिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

The forged grant Plate 1, l. 15.

नम प्रवेश्यमाचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिसरी-
 त्पर्वतसमकालिना पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमो-
 पभोग्य पूर्वप्रत्तेवब्रह्मदायवड्जर्म-
 भ्यांतरसिध्य शकनृपकालातीतसंव-
 च्छरशतचतुष्टये वैशाख्यं पौर्णमाशि
 उदकातिस्वर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोऽस्यो-
 चितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्ष-
 यतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा
 न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्यश्च तथागामिभि-
 रापि नृपतिभिरास्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा सा-
 मान्यभूमिदानफलमेत्य विन्दूलो-
 लान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणग्रलग्रज-
 लविन्दुचण्वलण्व जीवितमाकलय्य
 स्वदायानिर्विशेषो यमस्मदायो नु-
 मन्तव्य पालयितव्यःश्च तथा चोक्तं
 बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्त राजभि सागरा-
 दिभिः जस्य जस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

Iláo grant Pl. 11, l. 11.

नमप्रवेश्यमचंद्रार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वत -
 समानकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य
 पूर्वप्रत्तेवब्रह्मदायवड्जर्मभ्यांतरसिध्य
 शकनृपकालातीतसंवच्छरचतुष्टये
 सप्तदशाधिके ज्येष्ठमावास्यासूर्येग्राहे
 उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितं यतोऽस्यो-
 चितय ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्ष-
 यतो भुञ्जतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा
 न व्यासेधः प्रवर्तितव्य तथागामिभि-
 रापि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा सा-
 मान्यभूमिदानफलमेत्य विन्दूलो-
 लान्यनित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रज-
 लविन्दुचण्वलण्व जीवितमाकलय्य
 स्वदायानिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्वयोनु-
 मन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च तथा चोक्तं
 बहुभिर्बसुधा भुक्त राजभिः सगरा-
 दिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

तस्य तदा फलं यश्च ज्ञानंतिमिर-
 धृतमतिराच्छायादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत
 वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरु-
 पपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति उक्तं च
 भगवता व्याशेन वेदव्याशेन षष्टि व-
 र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छे-
 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत्
 यानीह दत्तानि पुरातनानि दानानि ध-
 र्मायशस्कराणि निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
 दीत स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष-
 नराधिपः महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
 नाच्छेयोनूपालनं लिखितं चैतत्पदानू-
 जीविश्रीबलाधिकृतगिलकसूनिना
 माधवभट्टेन स्वहस्तोयं मम श्री-
 वितरागभूने श्रीप्रसन्तरागस्य

तस्य तदा फलं जश्च ज्ञानंतिमिरवृत-
 मतिराच्छायादाच्छिद्यमानमनु-
 मोदेता व स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरु-
 पपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति उक्तं च
 भगवता व्यासेन वेदव्यासेन षष्टि व-
 र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः अच्छे-
 त्त चानुमन्त च तानेव नरकं वसेत्
 ज्ञानिह दत्तानि पुरातनानि दानानि ध-
 र्माध्वयशस्कराणि निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादा-
 दीत स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्षा-
 नराधिपः महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
 नाच्छेयोनूपालनं लिखितं संधी-
 वीग्रहाधिकृतेन माधवसूतेन
 रेवेण स्वहस्तोयं ममः श्रीधर-
 सेनदेवास्य ॥ ॥

तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यश्च ज्ञानंतिमिरवृत-
 मतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनु-
 मोदेत वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरु-
 पपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादिति उक्तं च
 भगवता व्याशेन वेदव्याशेन षष्टि व-
 र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छे-
 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥
 यानीह दत्तानि पुरातनानि दानानि ध-
 र्मायशस्कराणि निर्मुक्तमाल्यप्रति-
 मानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराद-
 दीत । स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष-
 नराधिपः महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दा-
 नाच्छेयोनूपालनं । लिखितमिदं संधि-
 विग्रहाधिकृतेन रेवेण मधवसू-
 तेन श्रीवीतरागसूनेः स्वहस्तो-
 यं मम श्रीप्रशान्तरागस्य

This synopsis shows clearly that my former expression, declaring this *śāsana* to be an exact copy of the Umetâ grant, is too strong, but that if it is a forgery, its affinity to the latter and to the Ilâo grant presupposes an acquaintance with either both those grants or with one of them and with the political history of the Gurjara kingdom. I feel compelled also to retract my former assertion that the resemblance between the Umetâ *śāsana* and this may be used as an argument against the genuineness of the latter. But I maintain now that its date and the statement about the writer, the minister for peace and war *Reva*, the son of *Mâdhava*, furnish an additional argument for considering our grant spurious. The undoubted grants of Dharasena II, which range between the year 252–270 of the peculiar era of the Valabhî grants, are all countersigned by the minister for peace and war, the chief secretary *Skandabhata*, while our grant bears the countersignature of *Reva*, the son of *Mâdhava*. This same *Skandabhata*, as we learn from *Guhasena's* grants dated Sam. 246 and 248, was also employed as minister by Dharasena's father. It is clear that we have here to deal with a fact which seems to go against the genuineness of our grant. In order to remove it, it might, however, be contended that *Reva* might either have held office simultaneously with *Skandabhata* or during the last portion of Dharasena's reign, which

as the first grant of his son Śîlâditya I is dated Sam. 286, must have ended some time between Sam. 270 and Sam. 286. In favour of the former alternative it might further be said, that Indian princes sometimes actually employed two *Sândhivigrahikas*, and the case of the Śîlahâra Chhittarâj might be adduced as an instance. For, as we learn from the Bhândûp plates¹¹, that prince had besides his *Sândhivigrahika* Sîhapaiya, a second minister for peace and war, Kapardî for Kâṇarâ. It might further be argued that such an arrangement would be natural for Dharasena II, as he held portions of Kâthiâvâḍ and of continental Gujarât. Plausible as this explanation may appear, it cannot be accepted, because through the grants of Dharasena IV we have certain evidence that the Valabhîans ruled with one *Sândhivigrahika* only. For both the grants of Dharasena IV, which dispose of villages in Sorath and in Gohelvâḍ¹² and his grant of Sam. 330 which was issued at Bharûch, and refers to a village situated in the Khedâ Zillâ, were written by one and the same minister Skandabhaṭa, the son of Chandra bhaṭṭi.¹³ If Dharasena IV contented himself with one minister, it is certainly not likely that Dharasena II, who

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 280.

¹² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. I, pp. 16, 45.

¹³ This is the correct form of the name, not Vashabhaṭṭi or Vatrabhaṭṭi as Prof. Bhândarkar doubtfully reads.

was a much smaller prince, kept two. The second alternative—the supposition that Reva might have succeeded Skandabhata is not probable, because the office of *Sāndhivigrahika* seems to have been hereditary at Valabhî for a considerable period. From Sam. 246–270 we find Skandabhata; next from Sam. 286–290 Chandrabhatti; further Sam. 310, Vāsabhatti;¹⁴ from Sam. 322–330, Skandabhata, the son of Chandrabhatti; and from Sam. 332–348, Anahila, the son of Skandabhata. Now, though the grants do not state that Chandrabhatti was the son of the first Skandabhata, that is highly probable, because Chandrabhatti's son is again called Skandabhata, and it is customary with Hindus to name a child after its grandfather. Under these circumstances the appearance of the name of a stranger in a grant of Dharasena is suspicious. But this suspicion becomes stronger if it is borne in mind that in Śaka Samvat 417 the Ilāo grant of Dadda II was written by the minister Reva, *the son of Mādhaṇa*, and that the general Mādhaṇa the son of Gilaka wrote a grant for Dadda II on the same day that Reva, who probably was his son, is said to have written one for Dharasena II, the foe of the Gurjara kings. It seems to me that

¹⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI, p. 16. I must add that, though the facsimile appears clear, the name is not quite certain, and may be a mistake for Chandrabhatti.

every attempt to uphold the genuineness of our grant entangles us in a maze of improbabilities. We should have firstly to assume that a Brâhmaṇa from continental Gujarât, for as such is Reva marked by his name,¹⁵ succeeded temporarily to an office held for generations by inhabitants of Valabhî, while his father held office under a hostile king; and secondly, that afterwards he entered the service of that king whom his father served. It will be necessary to acknowledge that the name of the writer and the date of our grant are an additional argument against its genuineness. But while I thus think it necessary to declare the grant spurious, I must add that in my opinion it is not a recent forgery, but dates from 100 to 200 years after Śaka Samvat 400. The grounds for this belief are, firstly, the fact that the characters are of the real and genuine Gurjara type; secondly, the fact that the forger knew something about the history of the Gurjara period; and thirdly, the probability that in later times a forger would not have fabricated a grant with the name of a king of the Valabhî dynasty.

As regards the first point, everybody who compares our grant with those of Jayabhata and Dadda II, must acknowledge that whatever the grant may be, the letters are genuine,

¹⁵ The modern form would be Revâśankar, a name which is extremely common among the Brâhmaṇs, especially the Nâgars living between the Taptî and the Sâbharmaṭî.

and agree with those of the Gurjara princes. Now Indian forgers do not, as a rule, even attempt to imitate an ancient character. But, if they do it, the attempt is of the feeblest kind possible.¹⁶ Nobody who carefully examines the numerous forgeries from Southern India, *e. g.* the Chera grant dated 159 Śaka,¹⁷ the British Museum grant of Pulikeśi, dated Śaka Samvat 411,¹⁸ or Mr. L. Rice's early Chera grants, published in the *Ind. Ant.*, will easily see that the letters do not belong to the centuries in which the grants are dated. The same remark holds good for the few forgeries found in Gujarât. I may mention, as an instance of this kind, a plate which was sent to me in 1879 for examination by the Assistant Political Agent in charge of Luṇâvâḍâ. It bears the name of Jayasimha Siddharâja of Aṇhilvâd Pâṭhan, but the letters belong to the last century, and the document is full of absurd anachronisms. There are also good reasons why it is almost impossible for a forger to adopt an ancient character or to imitate it successfully.

Firstly, palæography is not a branch of learning which is or ever has been much cultivated in India. Even learned Brâhmaṇs can hardly read the ancient literary alphabets of

¹⁶ Burnell, *South Indian Pal.*, p. 119.

¹⁷ See Burnell, *loc. cit.*, plate XI.

¹⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VII, p. 210.

their own provinces. They are utterly unacquainted with the characters used in inscriptions. This state of things seems to be ancient. For it is indicated by some curious blunders which Hiwen Thsang makes with regard to inscribed monuments. Thus the learned Chinese traveller asserts that Tathâgata frequently travelled in the kingdom of Valabhî, and that Aśoka raised columns in all the places where he stopped.¹⁹ Now it is a curious fact that Kâthiâvâḍ possesses a number of old pillars, several of which, like those near J a s d a n, at L â t h î,²⁰ and near D v â r k â, are inscribed. But not one of them belongs to A ś o k a: they were all erected by the Western K s h a t r a p a kings or their subjects. Hiwen Thsang no doubt drew his information regarding them from the Buddhist priests at Valabhî. His erroneous statements prove that his informants were not palæographers and antiquarians, but as ignorant of such matters as the Pandits of our days. But, supposing the case that an intending forger had mastered an ancient alphabet, he would still be very far from being able to produce a grant written in it. For the grant has to be incised by a copper-smith or *Kansâr*. Kansârs, though sometimes clever enough in imitating a given document, are utterly helpless if left to themselves. A Kansâr would be able to copy an old copper

¹⁹ *Mémoires*, tom. II., p. 163.

²⁰ Now in the Museum of the Bom. Br. Roy. As. Soc.

plate with perfect exactness, and probably succeed in making a tolerable copy of a grant written on paper. The forger would, therefore, not only have to give him the grant in Devanâgarî characters and an ancient alphabet, but he would have to write out the document itself in the old characters, and then to have it transferred to copper. Patient and industrious as the Pandits are, so much trouble would not suit their taste, and their deficiency in historical sense and knowledge would not allow them to undertake it. Under these circumstances, and with the actual facts regarding forged grants before our eyes, it is not too much to say that a forged grant may be assigned to that period the characters of which it shows. Now our grant shows Gurjara letters, and therefore most probably belongs to the period when Gurjara characters were used in Gujarât. The latest date which a genuine grant written in Gurjara character shows, is Śaka Samvat 749, or 827 A.D., which occurs on the K â v î plates.²¹ It may be that the Gurjara characters continued to be used a little longer,—perhaps up to the end of the ninth century. In the tenth century they were supplanted by the northern Kâyastha-Nâgarî, which we find on Mûlraja's grant²² and other unpublished documents. For these reasons, I

²¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 144.

²² *Ind. Ant.*, vol. V, p. 191.

think, our grant can in no case be placed later than 850 or 900. But as its characters come very close to those of Dadda's plates, it is probably older and belongs to the 6th or 7th century.

The fact that the forger knew something of the ancient political history of Gujarât points to the same date. I have shown above that the second part of our grant agrees in the main with the Umetâ and Ilâo grants, but that in two important particulars the date and the name of the writer wavers between the two. The date is that of the Umetâ śâsana, while the name of the writer is identical with that of the Ilâo grant. This circumstance *may* be explained by assuming that the forger had access to both documents and mixed their contents. But such an assumption is not safe because the two grants were not given to members of the same family or of the same Brâhmanical tribe. The Umetâ grant originally belonged to a K â n y a k u b j a Brâhmaṇ and the Ilâo grant to an A b h i c h h a t t r a (*i.e.* Ahichhattra) Brâhmaṇ. Now Brâhmaṇs are not at all communicative with regard to their family documents, and it must be a curious accident which gave to one and the same person access to both documents. It is much more likely that he saw only one of the documents, the Umetâ śâsana, and took from this the wording of the second part of his composition, and the date, which he could not have possibly given. But if that be so,

he must have got the name of R e v a, the son of M â d h a v a, from his knowledge of history. The fact that such a man existed and held the office of *Sândhivigrahika*, could, in the absence of annals, only be known to a person who lived not long after the times of Dadda II, *i. e.* in the 6th or perhaps in the 7th century. Later the knowledge of this whole period of history was buried in oblivion, as a perusal of the Jaina chronicles will show.

Irrespective of this point, there is another historical fact which the forger must have known, viz., that Gujarât for a time belonged to the kings of Valabhî. That this actually was the case, I have proved by the grant of Dharasena IV, dated Sam. 330. Now neither the bards nor the Jainas have the slightest notion of it. Nay it will be news to most antiquarians that B h a r û c h was actually conquered by the Mahârâjâdhirâja Chakravartin of Valabhî. Is it, under these circumstances, likely that anybody but a man who lived shortly after the time when the conquest happened should know the fact? That he knew it is plain enough, because he makes Dharasena II dispose of a village situated probably in the Surat collectorate. The forgery would finally have been without any practical object, if it had been made during a period when the dominion of the Valabhîans over Gujarât had ceased or was no longer fresh in the memory of the actual rulers.

The forger, of course, wanted to prove his own, or his employer's title to the village of Nandîar. If the actual rulers had not either been Valabhîans or at least had known something about the fact that the Valabhîans once held the country, he would certainly not have taken the trouble to insert the name of Dharasena. He would have chosen some other king whose name was known. Hence and because the fact of the Valabhîan rule over Gujarât was soon forgotten, we are driven again to the same conclusion that the forger lived not very long after the date which he inserted in his grant.

Enough has been said, I think, to make this point credible. The conclusions to be drawn from it regarding the credibility of the chief historical statement of our grant, viz., that the Śaka year 400 fell in the reign of Dharasena II, and that Dharasena possessed Gujarât in that year, I reserve for another paper, in which I intend to discuss the question of the Valabhî and Gupta eras.

Plate I.

- [¹] ओ स्वस्ति श्रीवलभितः सकलपृथ्वीपालमौलिमालापरिचुंबितचरणारविन्दो निजभुजस्तम्भोद्धृतवि-
 [²] श्वविश्रांभरभारः परममाहेस्वरो निजभुजबलनिहतसकलरिपुकुलललनालोचनः कमलविनि-
 [³] रसृतवारिधारापरिशांतकोपानलःकलिकालकलङ्कितलोकपापनिर्णोशनचतुरतराशुभाचारितःश्री-
 [⁴] भट्टार्कस्तस्य सूनुराखन्दल इव खण्डितविक्रम पृथुरिव पृथुतरयशोवितानिविमलीकृतसकल-
 [⁵] दिगान्तश्चतुःसागरमेखलाय भुवः पालयिता संस्कृतप्रकृतापभ्रंशभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरच-
 [⁶] नानिपुणातरांतकरणो विपश्चिन्तसमाजमानसरजहंस समरशिरोविदारितरातिकरीघटकंभस्थलप्र-
 [⁷] क्षालितरुधिरधारनिकुरुंबकालसंध्योजितविश्रांतारालः करीराज इव सदादानार्द्रिकृतकरो हिमाचल
 [⁸] इवांतसरालोतितुगश्चा रत्नाकर इव बहुसत्वाश्रयोतिगंभिरश्च शिशिरेतरकिरणा इव निजपादच्छाया-

²³ L. 1, read 'भीतः'—L. 2, read विश्रंभर^०; श्वरो^०; लोचन.

L. 3, read परिश्रान्त^०;—कलङ्काङ्कित^०; तरशुभचारितः.

L. 4, read भटार्क^०; राखण्ड^०; वाखण्डितविक्रमः.—L. 5,

read दिगन्त^०; मेखलाया; प्राकृता^०.—L. 6, read निपुणतरा-

न्तः;—राजहंस^०; तारातिकरिघटा.—L. 7, read धारा^०;

कारि^०; नार्द्रिकृत^०; L. 8, read इवातिसरलो^०; तुङ्गश्च^०; गंभीर^०;

किरण;

- [⁹] क्रांतमहामहीधरचक्रवालः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुनुरनुपमगुणगणाधरभूतो भूतनथ-²⁴
- [¹⁰] इव रिपुपूरां भेत चतुरांभोधिवेलामेखलाय भुतधाच्या भर्त्ता निजभुजबलहठाकृष्णसमस्तसापत्नसंपत्कः
- [¹¹] पङ्कजनाभ इव सदा लक्ष्मिनिवासो विबुद्धधुनीप्रवाह इव भुवनत्रयपवित्रकरणोदातो दिन-
- [¹²] कर इव करनिकरनिहतबहुतारारिपुतिमिरविसारो विशादतरयशोराराशिप्रसरप्रसाधि-
- [¹³] तासकलदिगंतभुतलः कमलासन इव विबुद्धवृन्दसंसेवितं पयोदसमयजलधरनिवाह इव सकलाशा-
- [¹⁴] परीपूरणाकुशलो लोकसंतापहारी च वज्रधर इव पटुतरधिषणो बहुद्रेक्च महाराजाधिराजप-
- [¹⁵] रमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकः श्रीधरसेनद्व कुशली सर्वोनेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तका-
- [¹⁶] नियुक्तकाधिकमहात्तारादित्समाज्ञापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मय मा-
- [¹⁷] तापित्रोरासनश्चैवामुष्मिकपुण्यायशोभिवृद्धाय दशपुरविनिर्गत-

²⁴ L. 9, read सूनुरं ; गणधरं ; भूतनाथः.—L. 10, read रिपुपूरां भेत्ता ; चतुरंभोः ; मेखलाया भूतं ; कृष्टः.—L. 11, read लक्ष्मीः ; विबुधं ; L. 12, read बहुतरं ; विस्तारो विशदः.—L. 13, read तसकलं ;—भूतलः ;—विबुधं ;—सेवितः ;—

L. 14, read परिपूर्णं ; बहुदृक्च.—L. 15, read युक्तं ;—L. 16, read महत्तरादीन्सं ; मया, L. 17, read पुण्यायशोभिवृद्धये.

Plate II.

- [1] तचातुर्विद्यसामान्यकौसिकस्यगोत्रच्छंदोगासब्रह्मचारिभाट्टा²⁵ सुत-
 [2] भाट्टगोमिद बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपन्चमहायज्ञार्थं कंतारग्रामशोडशतं वि-
 [3] षयंतःपातिनंदीअरकग्रामो तस्य च घटानानि पुर्वतः गिरिविलिग्रामः दक्षिणतः म-
 [4] दाविनादि पश्चिमतः समुंद्रो उतरतः देयथलिग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघटनविशुद्धो ग्रामः सोद्रंग सप-
 [5] रिकर सधान्यहिरन्यादेय सोत्पद्यमानवेष्टिक समस्तराजकियनमप्रवेस्यमाचद्रार्कोर्णवक्षितिसरी-
 [6] त्पर्वतसमानकालिना पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य पुर्वप्रतदेवब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जमयंतरशिध्य शकनृप-
 [7] कालातीतसंवच्छरशतचतुष्टये वैशाख्यं पौर्णमशि उदकातिस्वर्गोण प्रतिपादितं यतोस्योचि-
 [8] तया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्षयतो भुंजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न व्यासेधः प्रवर्ति-
 [9] तव्यश्च तथागामिभिरापि नृपतिभिरास्मद्वस्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्य भुमिदानफलमेवेत्य बिन्दूलो-

²⁵ L. 1, read तचातुर्विद्यं; कौशिकसगोत्रच्छंदोग;—भट्ट.

L. 2, read भट्टगोविन्दाय; वैश्वदेवां; पञ्च. —L. 3, read ष-
 यान्तः; चाघाटनानि; पूर्वतः L. 4, read दावी नदी; समुद्र
 उत्तरः; राघाटनं; सोद्रंगः—L. 5, read करः; ण्यादेयः;

विष्टिकः; राजकीयानामप्रवेश्य आ;—सरि. —L. 6, read समान-
 कालीनः; पौत्रान्वयः; भोग्यः पूर्वप्रतः; माभ्यंतरसिद्ध्या. L. 7,
 read वैशाख्यां पौर्णमास्यां; सर्गेण प्रतिपादितः. L. 9, read तव्यः
 तथा; रपि; रस्मद्वयैर; सामान्यं भूमिं; बिन्दुः.—

- [¹⁰] लान्यनिसैन्यैश्वर्याणि तृणग्रलग्राजलबिन्दुचणचलणच जिवितमकलथ्य स्वदायोनिर्विषेयम-²⁶
- [¹¹] स्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्य पलयितव्यःश्च तथा चोक्तं बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्त राजभि सागरादिभिः जस्य जस्य य-
- [¹²] दा भुमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं जश्चज्ञनतिमिरवृतमतिराच्छाद्यदाच्छिद्यमनमनुमोदेता व स पंचभिर्महा-
- [¹³] पातैकरूपपातैश्च शंयुक्त स्यादिति उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
- [¹⁴] र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः अच्छेत चानुमंत च तानिव नरेके वसेत् जनिह दतानि पुरतनानि दानानि धर्मा-
- [¹⁵] र्धयषस्कराणि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादादित स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्ना-
- [¹⁶] द्रवा नराधिपः महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं लिखितं संधीविग्रहाधिकृतेन माधवसू-
- [¹⁷] तेन रेवेण स्वहस्तोयं ममः श्रीधरसेनदेवास्य ॥ ॥

²⁶ L. 10, read 'नित्यान्यै'; तृणग्रलग्नं; चञ्चलञ्च; 'माकलथ्य; स्वदायानिर्विषेयो. — L. 11, read 'स्मदा'; मन्तव्यः पां; भुक्ता; राजभिः सं; यस्य यस्य. L. 12, read भूमिं; यश्चाज्ञानं; राच्छि-
न्द्यादिच्छिद्यमानमं; देत वा. L. 13, read संयुक्तं; 'सहस्राणि.

L. 14, read भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता; तान्येव; यानीह
दत्तानि पुरां; L. 15, read 'र्धयज्ञस्कं; राददीत. L. 16,
read 'द्रक्ष. 'प; महीमतां; लिखितं संधिं; माधवसू. L. 17,
read मम श्रीधरसेनदेवस्य.

Translation.

Plate I.

Om. Hail, from famous Valablî ! (*There was*) the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭṭârka (Bhaṭârka), whose lotus feet were kissed by the diadems of all kings, that encircled them like a garland,—who upheld with his arms stronglike pillars the load of the whole earth,—the fire of whose anger was extinguished by the streams of tears, flowing from eyes of the wives of all his enemies, who had been slain by his strong arm,—whose pious conduct was exceedingly efficient in destroying the crimes of the world which the Age of Sin makes foul.

His son (*was*) the illustrious Guhasena, who resembled Âkhaṇḍala (Indra), because his valour was unchecked (*akhaṇḍita*), and Prithu because all the quarters of the world were purified by the canopy of his very extended (*prithutara*) fame,—who protected the earth that is encircled by the four oceans as by a girdle, and excelled in composing works in the three languages, viz., in Sanskrit, Prâkrit, and Apabhraṁśa,—who was an illustrious king (*rājahansa*) dwelling in the minds (*mānasa*) of a multitude of Pandits, and thus resembled a royal swan dwelling on lake Mānasa,—who conquered all the regions of the earth with numerous streams of blood, red like the dawn of Time, that gushed from the frontal globes

of troops of hostile elephants which he split in the van of battle, who conquered all the intermediate regions,—whose hands were always wet with (*libations made in conferring*) gifts (*sadádánárdríkṛitakara*), and who thus resembled an elephant king whose trunk is always wet with ichor flowing from his temples (*sadár-dánárdríkṛitakara*),—who being very upright (*atisarala*) and exceedingly lofty (*atituṅga*) resembled the Himâlaya which is exceedingly straight (*atisarala*) and high (*atituṅga*),—who being very courageous (*bahusattvâśraya*) and very profound (*atigambhîra*), resembled the ocean which is the abode of many beings (*bahusattvâśraya*) and very deep (*atigambhîra*)—who, as the shadow of his feet (*pâdachhâyâ*) falls on many great kings (*mahîdhara*) resembled the sun, the light of whose rays (*pâdachchâyâ*) falls on many high mountains (*mahîdhara*).

His son (*is*) the supreme sovereign, the supreme lord and king of kings the illustrious *D h a r a s e n a d e v a*, who is endowed with a multitude of incomparable virtues, who being the destroyer of (*three*) towns of his foes, resembles Śiva who is the destroyer of *T r i p u r a*,²⁷ who is the husband of the earth that is

²⁷ This is an exceedingly recondite pun which is only made possible by the author's having taken *purām* (gen. pl.) as an equivalent for *puratrayasya* or *tripurasya*, which latter word is the name of the Daitya slain by Śiva.

surrounded by the four oceans as by a girdle,—who has forcibly drawn towards himself by the strength of his arm the wealth of all his rivals,—who, just like Vishṇu, is always attended by Fortune (*lakshmī*),—who, like the flood of the celestial river (*gaṅgā*), is always engaged in purifying the three worlds,—who, having beaten down the huge dark masses of his numerous foes by means of the multitude of the trunks (*of his elephants*), and having beautified the whole world by the expanse of his great and exceedingly brilliant fame, resembles the sun who with the multitude of his rays destroys the extensive, hostile darkness and beautifies the whole world by his far-extending exceedingly brilliant splendour,—who, being worshipped by a crowd of wise men, resembles Brâhmaṇ, who is worshipped by the crowd of the gods— who, being clever in fulfilling all hopes and removing the sorrows of the people, resembles the clouds of the rainy season, which are efficient in filling the whole sky and remove the heat that scorched men,—who possessing great intelligence and seeing much, resembles Indra, who has a very wise preceptor (*Bṛihaspati*) and many eyes.

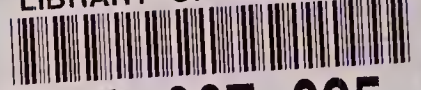
He, being in good health, addresses these orders to all governors of zillâs, governors of tâlukâs, headmen of villages, officials and employés, great men, chief men and others:—Be it known to you that for the increase of my

parents and of my own merit in the next world and of my fame, I have granted with heartfelt devotion, confirming the gift by a libation of water, on the day of the full moon of Vaiśākha in the year four hundred of the Śaka era, to Bhaṭṭa G o m i n d a (Govinda), the son of Bhaṭṭa I s a r a (Īśvara), an emigrant from D a ś a p u r a, who belongs to the Chaturvedīs of that (*town*) and to the K a u ś i k a Gotra in general, and studies the C h h a n d o g a śākhā (*of the Sāmaveda*) for the performance of the Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra, the five Mahâyajñas and similar rites, the village of Nandîaraka situated in the K a n t â r a g r â m a ś o ḍ a ś a t a m zillâ, the boundaries of which are—to the east the village of Girivili, to the south the river M a d â v î, to the west the ocean, to the north the village of D e y a t h a l i. (*The grant of*) this village—which is not to be entered by any royal officials, and to be enjoyed by the (*grantee's*) sons, grandsons and (*remoter*) descendants—defined by the above-stated boundaries includes the the rent paid by non-resident cultivators, the income in grain and gold and the right of forced labour, with the exception of former gifts to gods and Brâhmaṇs, and is to be valid as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers and hills endure. Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who by virtue of the rights conferred by this gift to a Brâhmaṇ, cultivates (*the land of this village*),

causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it or causes it
to be enjoyed by others, or assigns it (*to others*)

. Written by the
Secretary for peace and war R e v a, the son of
M â d h a v a. This is my sign-manual, (*that*)
of the illustrious D h a r a s e n a d e v a.

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